

The Aborigines of Taiwan: The Puyuma; From Headhunting to the Modern World, by Josiane Cauquelin. English translation by Caroline Charras-Wheeler. London: Routledge/Curzon, 2004. ISBN 0-415-31413-5; 277 pages, maps, figures, photographs, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. US\$125.00.

Here is a solid book! It is the work of a lifetime, living up to the expectations of Georges Condominas, who pens its foreword. The author, Josiane Cauquelin, is a distinguished linguist and ethnologist of the South-east Asia and Austronesian World Department at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in France. She offers us a thorough analysis of the Puyuma, one of the ten Aboriginal communities of Taiwan, whose land holds such important landmarks as the Peinan archaeological site and the National Museum of Prehistory in Taitung.

In her introduction, Cauquelin presents the rich background of Taiwan (the name means, literally, "the high peaks"), the very first Austronesian stepping-stone between Mainland China and the Pacific. This event occurred some 4,000 years ago, before the Portuguese found it beautiful ("formosa" in Portuguese), and before the Dutch and Spaniards vied with one another for its colonization. Koxinga, son of a Japanese mother and a Chinese merchant-turned-pirate and then admiral, was eventually forced to Taiwan by a drastic Manchu evacuation of the Chinese coast. Once on the island, Koxinga ousted the Dutch in 1661–1662 and drove the west-coast natives to the mountains of the lofty central range and the

narrow strip of the east coast. Then, following the French intervention in China in 1884, the Ch'ing dynasty turned Taiwan into its twenty-second province. Cauquelin appropriately highlights the lasting influence of Japanese rule that followed, from 1895 to 1945. The book's last chapter also briefly reminds us that the Taiwanese Aborigines are emerging from the Sinicization (process of making things Chinese), first implemented by Chiang Kai-shek's government in 1949, which lasted until the early 1990s. "For 40 years, aborigine children were forbidden to speak their mother tongue at school" (227). "In the village of Puyuma, the young people under thirty years of age do not speak the language of their ancestors at all, their education having been entirely in the Chinese language. The generation between the ages of thirty and sixty speaks Puyuma and Chinese, whereas the very old speak Puyuma peppered with Japanese expressions" (20).

The Aborigines of Taiwan is coming out at a very opportune time indeed. Against a background of loss of language, loss of land, rural exodus, alcoholism, prostitution, and suicide, young intellectuals founded the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines in 1984. Their fight for recognition led them to Geneva in 1991, and in 1997 the Council of Aboriginal Affairs was established. Thus, the book's active acknowledgment of the original aboriginal culture and the later Japanese imprint on the island helps the Taiwanese today to assert their very special identity in a unique context of innovative economic development and democratization.

Chapter 1 is devoted to Puyuma

linguistics and myth, chapter 2 describes the village, and chapter 3 shows us how “religion is the key element of Puyuma identity” (49). In chapter 4, “Birth and Death,” we learn that “until the beginning of the twentieth century, the dead were buried in the house” (77), as in the vast archaeological site of Peinan. In chapter 5, devoted to kinship, Cauquelin confidently asserts that “there exists an ‘unspoken rule’ regarding the preferred choice of a wife, ie, any second, third or fourth cousin on the mother’s side, or a cross-cousin on the father’s side” (100). “Let us remember that the Puyuma practiced horticulture and slash-and-burn agriculture and that only women tilled the fields. They did away with the need for permanent tenure and uxori-local residence rules [in which the man moved to the woman’s home to live] then developed. But with the prohibition of hunting [by the Japanese colonial administration in 1895], farming was taken over by men, and under the stress of land distribution problems, residence became patrilocal [the woman moved to the man’s home], following the Chinese pattern” (101). “The uxori-local trend declined from 91 per cent in 1905 to 70 per cent in the prewar years, and 5 per cent in the 1980s” (105). Cogently analyzed by Cauquelin, this recent change explains why women have taken over from men the practice of shamanism.

In chapter 6, the author reconstructs the former dual organization of the Puyuma. “The uncontested predominance of the founding household is based on its links with the mystical ancestors, and its ancestral cult house is in charge of the entire group” (119).

“From the age of thirteen onwards, boys’ education takes place in the boys’ house. Access to the boys’ house is strictly forbidden to anyone who does not belong there. The two brothers who built the first house killed their father for breaking this rule. It is the only building in the village elevated on pillars” (122). The chapter is packed with details stressing an egalitarian philosophy empowering the age-sets to the point of maintaining a balance between men and women through procreation limits imposed on both sexes.

Following Roberte Hamayon (*La chasse à l’âme, esquisse d’une théorie du chamanisme sibérien*, a title we could translate as *Hunting the Soul: Outline of a Theory of Siberian Shamanism* [1990])—who studied the communities of Siberia and showed that spirits are the shaman’s marriage partners in hunting communities, and ancestors in the farming ones—Cauquelin achieves the very same result with the Puyuma, a society that is forsaking its hunting traditions to adopt farming, and passing from marriage to filiation as a reproductive mechanism: “my electing ancestor wanted me to become her daughter,” young shaman Irubai confides, referring to a great-aunt (185). For Cauquelin, the transition from a hunting to a farming society is illustrated by the myth of Takio, the marooned stealer of rice cakes who manages to come back from Green Island. As an unsuccessful hunter, Takio plainly indicates that male shamanism now belongs to the past. “The theft of the cakes could signify this change to farming and Takio, the shaman, tried to get rid of the object that would deprive him of his function, which,

in a hunting society, is the hunting of game. . . . The Puyuma hunted any game the mountain provided, and, more specifically, in a ritual context, monkeys and deer. It was forbidden to keep game for oneself; it had to be passed on. However, in a farming society, individuals possessed private property, which could be handed down, and which became a source of covetousness and theft. The brothers discovered shame with Takio, the rice cake thief. . . . The group has passed from an activity based mainly on hunting, gardening, and gathering, to another based on farming. In the former society, men were hunters, and it was they who exercised the functions of shamans. . . . Men took the game from nature, but they knew that their catch depended on the *biruas*' [spiritual beings] goodwill, and they had to 'give them their share'" (188–189). The rite of the deer and the ritual "feeding Takio or his mountain" (189), Cauquelin argues convincingly, are part of the same quest: fertility.

Chapter 8 is appropriately illustrated to deal with material civilization, and a short, last chapter, as previously indicated, takes stock of the present situation. Josiane Cauquelin's *The Aborigines of Taiwan: The Puyuma; From Headhunting to the Modern World* is the ideal book to allow one to become acquainted with the Austronesians' homeland. Herein is to be found the essence of twenty fruitful years spent gathering data and insights by a colleague fluent in both Puyuma and Chinese. A rare work!

SERGE DUNIS

Université de la Polynésie Française

* * *

Postcolonial Pacific Writing: Representations of the Body, by Michelle Keown. New York: Routledge, 2005. ISBN 0-415-29957-8; xv + 237 pages, figures, map, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, US\$105.00.

In the Introduction to *Postcolonial Pacific Writing*, Michelle Keown notes that, while a number of Pacific writers have received international recognition, their works (and the region itself) remain marginal within the worldwide institutions and industries of postcolonial scholarship. This assessment suggests that one of her book's ambitions is to make the case for inclusion and broadened, better-informed discussion. An implied tactic in this regard is to demonstrate how readily Pacific texts (here "Pacific" is limited to "Polynesian" and Māori texts written in English) respond to postcolonial treatment, and how analogous Pacific texts are to other postcolonial literatures. At the same time, Keown suggests that postcolonial theory can deepen the appreciation of—and thicken the analysis of—Pacific responses to colonial incursion, without becoming a neocolonial imposition of terms. The central tactic here is to posit a dialectical relation between postcolonial approaches (the anticolonial global) and an emerging canon of indigenous texts (the pan-Pacific regional). In this dialectic, postcolonial refers to "theoretical issues" (11), and Pacific refers both to the creative texts produced by indigenous writers and the Pacific-specific sociocultural contexts, epistemologies, and narrative strategies inscribed within them.

Keown structures her book as both